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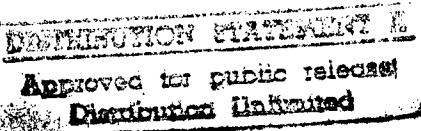
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VIETNAM LAO DONG PARTY

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VIETNAM LAO DONG PARTY

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I. VIETNAM LAO DONG PARTY, THE ORGANIZER AND LEADER OF OUR VICTORY

Thoi Su Pho Thong

Pages 1-8

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As of 1 January 1960, the Vietnam Lao Dong Party (formerly the Communist Party of Indochina) is 30 years old. It is a happy and proud day for all the workers of Vietnam in Particular, and for the whole population of Vietnam in general. Its existence and struggle during 30 years are the proof of the maturity of the Party and of the growth of the working class. The period of 30 years of the growth and struggle of the Party corresponds also to the period of the most brilliant records of Vietnamese history.

The Formation of the Party

Thirty years ago, our people were still slaves, the country was lost and our homes destroyed. Our people lived like beasts. Day in and day out, they had to toil relentlessly to serve the imperialists, landowners and bureaucrats. Failure to pay taxes to them would result in jail sentences, and in condemnation ranging from being shackled to the columns of the temples or of being tied in chains and exposed to the public in front of the market. Failure to pay land dues and debts to the landowners would result in the confiscation of the farm, and in the obligation to send away the wife and children to work for hire. Failure to have bribe money for the functionaries would bring whipping or jail. The last resort for the unfortunate people was to be compelled to leave the old villages to work for hire for the landowners or to work as a coolie for the proprietors of the mines. It was like being shifted to another hell. It was a dog's life. People had to lead a hand-to-mouth existence. Children were born as citizens of a lost country, and when they were grown up, they continued to live the dim animal-like existence of their parents. There is no greater shame than that of losing one's own country, and there is no greater calamity than being a slave from generation to generation. At times, there were a few patriots who revolted and who awakened the people to rise to fight the French. For instance, there were such great names as Phan Dinh-Phung, Hoang Hoa Tham, Phan Boi Chau, Phan Chu Trinh, and Nguyen Thai Hoc. These patriots were mainly writers whose patriotism was unbounded, but who did not rely on the population at large, lacked formal organization and did not have adequate means or the right spirit of bringing successfully the revolution to fruition. Most of the attempts resulted in failures.

It was not until 1930 that the working class emerged. From many years of struggle, the first leaders got experience and realized that to liberate the workers, the fight to unshackle their bonds should come simultaneously with the liberation of the whole people. To bring about the revolution for the liberation of the whole people, it was necessary to concentrate leadership in a main party, i.e., the vanguard of the working class. Although not coming necessarily from the ranks of the workers, the true and most enlightened revolutionaries knew the way to lead the workers and make them aware of the interests they have to defend and fight for, because these leaders learned arguments and gained experience in revolutions in other countries. They knew that to liberate the working class, they should start the revolution by ousting the imperialists, destroying the feudal regime of the landowner class, bringing independence to the people, and giving the land to the peasants before struggling to bring about socialism in this country. The revolutionaries had for their leader Comrade Nguyen Ai Auoc who set up the Party of the Revolution, i.e., the Workers' Party. Before 1951, it was called the Communist Party of Indochina. It was necessary to set up a main political party, because the working class could not struggle in disorderly or haphazard fashion against the rule of a feudal and imperialist government which possessed complete machinery to exploit the people and practiced the policy of "letting the people be uneducated in order to rule." To such a strong machinery, the Workers' Party could not act on the spur of the moment, but must be organized along definite lines and act in unison. The Party must have a staff to lead the struggle. The Party gathered the most farsighted and revolutionary people from the ranks of the workers, and the prominent revolutionaries who had devoted their lifetime to struggle for the interests of the workers and the people in general and for the ultimate liberation of the Fatherland. The Party rallied the most revolutionary minds of the workers and outlined the conduct of the revolution. The Party showed how to solve a confused situation, outlined the tactics of the struggle for the sake of the workers and rallied all the forces of the revolution to fight the enemy, and eventually to wrest power from the foe and to build up a new society. The Party rallied the most revolutionary minds and organized the working class under the most strict discipline, trained each Party member to be truthful and faithful in the liberation of the working class and the workers in general, and formed the hard core of the revolutionary movement. Recognizing the common purpose and the common interests derived from the liberation of the workers and the independence of the people in general which should be conducted simultaneously, the Party is at the same time the true representative of the interests of the working class and of the whole population of Vietnam in general.

That is why the revolution in Vietnam moved to a new stage since the formation of the Communist Party of Indochina. Having a staff which was the leadership of the Party of the workers, the revolutionary movement progressed without interruption.

History of the Party Faithful to the Fatherland and Devoted to the People

In the very first year of formation, the Party was the leader of the revolution. For the first time, workers and farmers took the power in a number of localities in the Provinces of Nghe An and Ha Tinh. Soviet Nghe Tinh marked a heroic deed of the Vietnam Revolution under the leadership of the Party of the Workers which was recently set up. Although the rule of the workers did not last, it proved that the regime of the imperialist and landowner class, no matter how stringent, was likely to be defeated.

After 15 years of persistent struggle, the Party eventually led the revolution to success in August, wrested the power from the Fascist imperialists and landowner class and put the rule in the hands of the working class in particular and of the population in general. From a status of slaves, serving the imperialist and feudal masters, our people became the owners of the country. The August Revolution led by our Party brought honor and glory to our people and to our Fatherland. For the first time in history, a revolutionary Party of the working class in a colony led the people in a successful revolution, took over the government and undertook to build a new society. Not only our people, but also the oppressed people of other countries in the world are proud of our courageous accomplishments. It shows that no matter how powerful the administrative machinery is and how devious its machinations are, the imperialist and feudal regime sooner or later is not able to stand against the revolutionary movement of the whole people who fight under the leadership of the powerful Party of the working class.

The success of the August Revolution did not come unexpectedly: it was the result of 15 years of arduous efforts of the Party. During the formative years when the Party took the leadership of the revolution, the forces of the Party were still small, the people although full of patriotic spirit were not well-informed and fully aware of the struggle, and the government was still in the hands of the brutal imperialist foes who sought to destroy the Party by every means. Thus, every action, every statement of patriotism by the people, and every request to improve the living standards of the people, were considered as a crime by the ruling class. Revolutionary activities were liable to death sentences by the guillotine or to exile in distant prisons. Thus, although faced with every adverse condition, now open now underground, the revolutionary fighters of the Party strived at every hour

and every minute to inform and enlighten the people, develop the forces of revolutionary fighters never hesitated to advance to the front to die for a just cause. When someone died, another took up the fight. Examples of sacrifice by outstanding revolutionaries such as Tran Phu, Le Hong Phong, Ha Huy Tap, Hoang Van Thu, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai, and many others will shine forever in the pages of the Party's history. At present, the forces of the Party grow up, have power and get the support of the people. The Party also gets the support of the friendly socialist countries. In the course of the new revolution, the difficulties in the field of production and in the building of the country -- no matter how great -- seem to be small in comparison with the strenuous efforts of the Party during the formative years. If previous difficulties could be overcome, the Party is sure that any future problem will likewise be overcome.

Immediately after taking over, the Party faced a new challenge. Being the first revolutionary state which scored a victory against the imperialists in Southeast Asia, our country had to face single-handedly every attempt of many imperialist powers to again impose their rule. The United States connived with the Chiang Kai-shek clique who took the opportunity to go to Vietnam in order to disarm the defeated Japanese troops. They attempted to oust the revolutionary regime, restore power on behalf of their lackeys, i.e., the Nationalist Party and the Dai Viet Party (Greater Viet) and form a puppet regime subservient to the landowners and capitalist bourgeoisie. In the South, the British troops also pretended to disarm the Japanese to restore authority to the French imperialists. These schemes posed a dangerous threat to the success of the revolution. In that "sword of Damocles" situation, the enlightened leadership of the Party and of Chairman Ho Chi-minh, with the support of the popular forces, took advantage of the contradictions between the imperialists and were able to overcome many obstacles that impeded the progress of the Vietnamese Revolution, to undo the scheming tactics of the United States Chiang Kai Shek clique, to preserve the integrity of the new-born revolutionary State, and to gain time to prepare for the long struggle against the French imperialists.

When the French colonialists started their war of aggression, the Party made a careful analysis of the forces of the enemy and was against the idea of "striking fast for an early victory." Instead, it outlined a strategy of "delayed warfare." Chairman Ho Chi Minh pointed out that although the struggle would be long and arduous, the success of the revolution is not to be doubted. He proclaimed the slogans "All-out for the front," and "All-out for victory," as orders of the day. During nine long years of armed resistance with the objective of preserving the integrity of the nation, the Party, through its enlightened policies in political, military, economic and cultural fields, and its close links with the people, believing in the patriotism of the people and determined to serve them, contributed to the unity and upheld the

courage and creative spirit of the people. Our people were able to start from scratch and build a strong armed force and engage in a holy struggle for the sake of the people, and eventually defeated the troops of a colonial power, that is, France backed by the U.S. The brilliant victory at Dien Bien Phu resulted in world-wide repercussions and forced the imperialist clique to sign the armistice agreement. Together with the conduct of the war against imperialist France, the Party and Government implemented policies of tax reduction and agricultural reforms, led land tenants in their struggle against the land-owners and adopted the slogan "Land workers must have land."

The record of the Party's struggle against the imperialist clique and the feudal regime was one of courage. The success of the armed resistance movement proves that any aggressor -- no matter how powerful -- is not able to subdue our people. They fought courageously under the leadership of the Party of the working class and of the staff which had been strengthened and forged in the fire of the revolution.

The Party During the Period of the Working for Peace

While the armed resistance movement has been successful and the North liberated, the country was temporarily divided into two parts. The Party has pointed out that the whole population has for its mission continuance of the struggle to achieve unity for the country and to complete the work of the democratic revolution; also, to bring socialism to the North and, once a solid basis is laid out, to complete the work of unification of the whole country.

In the liberated North, the Party has shown that the expulsion of the imperialists and the destruction of the feudal regime is only the first step of a long revolution. The Party has liberated the working class and the working people in their advance toward a new phase of the revolution, i.e., the phase of revolutionalizing socialism aiming at eliminating every form of human exploitation, building a prosperous Vietnam and making the physical and cultural life of the people attain greater heights. From the conduct of the war to the building of peace, from the activities of the armed resistance movement to that of national construction the task of the revolution assumes an entirely new and complicated character. Engaging itself in that new revolutionary task, the Party is able to lead the people toward greater achievements.

In the interval of three years, our people achieved the program of agricultural reforms and restored the economy that was incapacitated by a devastating war. Total production in agriculture and industry at the end of 1957 almost equalled that of 1939, which was the best year in the pre war period. Agricultural production, especially in food, far exceeded the pre war level. Traditional famine in the North was solved in principle. The solution of the famine problem is outstanding, because

in the North, the land is small in comparison with the number of people. People used to believe that the famine problem could never be solved. From the end of 1958 on, every aspect of improving and building socialism progressed rapidly according to new trends. In rural areas, collectivized agriculture made progress and up to now covered 40% of the farming areas: production is rising and food quality is improving. In cities, new factories are mushrooming, promoting new products, daily and 90,000 unemployed people found new jobs. Small businessmen and handicraftmen were reorganized in cooperatives. Organizations of consumers, business representatives and businessmen were reorganized. Progress was also made in the fields of education and public health. It is clear that new prospects have been promoted and new vistas appeared for the first time on the rich land of our ancestors. Although many obstacles still lay ahead, we are convinced that, with the enlightened leadership of the Party, our country will witness the transformation of an agricultural economy into an industrial one, developing a great vitality in both agriculture and industry, and bringing happiness to the people.

Preliminary successes in the revolution for building socialism prove that: With the determination of engaging in an all-out revolution, of bringing happiness to the working class and to the working people in general, and being imbued with the will to self-criticize and correct one's mistakes and errors, the Party is not only the enlightened and courageous leader of the revolution, but also the guide in the building of a new society. In the face of a ruthless enemy, the Party does never submit itself. But to the working class and the working people in general, the Party is their faithful servant.

Steady Progress Being Made Under the Flag of the Party

During 30 years of struggle, the Party has been the organizer and promoter of every achievement of all our people. On the one hand, the happiness enjoyed by the working class and the working people stems from the untiring efforts of the Party. On the other hand, the strength of the Party lies in its closeness to, and devotion to, the people. By staying close to the people and drawing their support, the Party was able to overcome every barbarous attempt of suppression and terrorism practiced by the enemy. By staying close with the people, the Party was able to enlist the services of tens of millions of people in the task of rebuilding the country that the enemy attempted to destroy and pillage.

In the task of building a new life, the Party is the future and the hope of every worker. For our future and happiness and that of our children, we workers ought to step forward with confidence under the flag of the Party.

It is the honor and glory of our generation to be able to fight under the flag of the Party and under the leadership of Chairman Ho Chi Minh, the Outstanding Party member and the admirable son of the Fatherland of Vietnam.

III. QUALIFICATIONS AND TRAITS OF A COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBER

Thoi Su Pho Thong
Pages 10-16

Nguyen Chuong
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Training Department, Central
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Party, Hanoi

As we celebrate the 30th anniversary of the formation of the Communist Party of Indochina and recall the road to glory beset with difficulties, but which the Party overcame, every one of us comes to the conclusion that without the enlightened and persistent leadership of the Party, there would be no success for the present revolution.

The success of the Party in guiding the ship of the revolution to safety is due to its position as vanguard of the working class in the revolution, imbued with the principles of Marx and Lenin. It is a party which is utterly devoted to the destiny and future of the working class and of the people in general. The Party is successful because it is well organized, has the strict discipline of the proletariat, and has unlimited confidence in popular forces, knowing how to rely on the support of the masses when difficult circumstances arise.

At present, although the revolution is successful and the North has been liberated, the South still suffers under the heels of the U.S. Diem clique. We have still the mission to continue the struggle to liberate the South and bring unity to the country. In the North, we still have the mission to build our country, and from the conditions of an under-developed agricultural economy to transform it into a prosperous socialist country having an advanced economy and civilization. Those are heavy tasks indeed. To perform successfully that mission, we know from experience that the prerequisite condition is to acquire a strong leadership for the Party.

To be strong, the Party must have a core of good members. The North has at present more than 400,000 Party members: that is a great force and valuable asset. But even so, it is not enough. As new circumstances present themselves, the Party needs an increasing number of Party members and more militant groups. But the most important of all conditions is to strive incessantly to increase the number of Party members, and improve their standards to maintain and strengthen the character of the Party vanguard in accordance with the requirements of new circumstances.

Thus, requirements for membership in the Communist Party are an important matter on which we should come to agreement. I venture to assign as follows the standards of a Party member:

1. Be aware of the qualifications of the working class of the Party and exercise self-discipline to become a militant fighter of the working class.

The Lao Dong Party of Vietnam includes the most enlightened, active and revolutionary workers and farmers. But from the point of view of class character, the Party is the vanguard of the working class and represents its views and ideas.

In comparison with small producers, the workers have no property. They work in collective groups in factories and employ machines and tools in production. From that kind of work, they acquire the collective habits, are conscious of strict organization and discipline, and aspire to bring about a socialist society and communism. They are the most far-sighted of all people, and with the development of industry, they have the potentialities to progress as a class.

By participating in the revolution to eliminate exploitation and bring about socialism and communism, the working class frees itself and at the same time, liberates other working people.

Our party was set up by following the directives and the organization pattern of the working class. The policies of the Party are formulated according to the revolutionary outlook and interests of the working class. Each Communist Party member, no matter where he comes from, must study and be self-disciplined to become a militant fighter of the working class, and struggle in accordance with the outlook and ideas of the working class.

2. Know fully that the ultimate aim of the Party is to bring about Communism, and have the determination to struggle continuously to pursue that objective.

The mission of the working class and the Party is to engage in a revolution for the elimination of the capitalist system and the building of Communism.

To bring about Communism, it is necessary to know that socialism is the lowest stage of Communism. In a socialist regime, the exploiting classes are eliminated, factories and mines belong to the people, and farmers participate in agricultural collectives. Production in industry and agriculture by the whole society is being achieved according to definite plans and progresses continuously, thus guaranteeing the high level of the material and cultural life of the working people. In a

socialist regime, labor is the duty of everybody: more benefit for those who work more, and less benefit for those who work less, and no benefit for no work, thus accordingly to the motto "Work as much as one can, benefit depending on degree of labor."

In accordance with the progress of productivity, the socialist society advances toward Communism. It is then that the principle will be "Work to the fullest extent one can, and benefit depending on needs." Communism is the best and most satisfactory social system.

To bring about Communism, the revolution has for its mission to eliminate imperialism, feudalism and capitalism; to eliminate the exploiting class and private property; to use fully labor; to be economical in production; to promote steady progress in production in agriculture and industry; and at the same time, to promote the cultural, educational and ethical aspects of Communism.

That is indeed a grandiose, drawn out, difficult and demanding revolutionary task. The Communist Party member should have the determination to devote his lifetime to achieve that ultimate objective. In the ranks of the Party, there are still some people who mistakenly believe that there will be no more revolution once the struggle against imperialism and feudalism is ended, and that there is no need to continue the struggle. The Communist Party member must be fully acquainted with the spirit and ethics of communism, i.e., he must absolutely not commit any crime of exploiting others. He must be impartial in mind, always keeping the interests of the whole people at heart, and always struggling for the success of the Party and for the happiness of the people as a whole. He must have an unswerving fighting spirit, and never be afraid of difficulties and dangers.

3. Place the interests of the Party above everything else; the interests of the individual must be subordinate to the paramount interests of the Party

The Lao Dong Party of Vietnam -- the Communist Party -- which exists for the interests of the working class and of the working people in general, has no other interest to defend.

A communist Party member is different from an ordinary individual in that he thinks and acts not in terms of individual interests, once he is in the ranks of the Communist Party. He thinks and acts in the interests of the Party and of the people in general. The collective interests of the people include also the individual interests of the members as well. This means that the liberation and happiness of the people also include those of the individual. Thus, the common interests of the collective society and the interests of the individual are inseparable.

In any circumstance, a Party member whether in his thoughts or actions, must put the interests of the Party above everything else. In case of contradiction between the individual interests and the Party's interests, the member must have at heart the latter. That is the lofty and noble essence of the Communist Party member. In the history of the Party's struggle, outstanding Party members always had in mind the interests of the Party and the people in general and did not hesitate to die for the great cause. These shiny examples of heroic sacrifice are worthy of mention for our own good.

A Communist Party member must fight against ideas of selfish interest and individualism. Contrary to the standards of a Party member are thoughts on selfish interests, high position, ambition and waste.

We are against individualist thoughts. But, insofar as not going against the collective interests of the People, the Party authorizes its members to care for private affairs, such as family business, which ought to be thought about. But the Party member should not go beyond the limits of "what ought to be thought about" and neglect the interests of the Party.

4. While working under the Party leadership, respect the organization and discipline of the Party.

The Lao Dong Party of Vietnam was organized on centralized democratic principles, having a unified leadership and a strict discipline. Why is it so necessary? Because the Party has for its mission the defeat of the enemy, the reform of an old society and the building of a new one: these are heavy and difficult tasks. When confronting such a grandiosetask, if the Party were not tightly organized, under unified leadership, and the like, the ranks of the Party would be scattered like a handful of sand, and having no strength, it could not carry out successfully the struggle.

Concerning the policies and directives of the Party, members have the duty to study and discuss them carefully, and to implement them. These policies and resolutions are closely linked with the benefits of the revolution and the life of the people. Some attitudes, such as acting only on selfish consideration or for private interests, or neglecting to put into execution resolutions agreed to at meetings, should never be allowed to exist.

A member should respect the discipline of the Party and maintain the Party's prestige by avoiding any action which harms that prestige. A member should preserve the solidarity and unity of the Party and fight against any idea, thought or action detrimental to the interests of the Party and the People. A member should obey the laws of the government because it is the democratic government of the people led by the working

class; its laws were made in conformity with the interests of all the people.

Lack of organization and discipline, liberal ideas, and indifference to the Party's organization are contrary to the standards of a Party member.

5. Have the right attitude toward the people; serve the people with heart and soul and have close links with the people.

In the task of revolution, the Communist Party doesn't act on its own efforts, but must lean on the forces of the people: It organizes, educates and leads the people in the conduct of the revolution. The strength of the Party lies in its close links with the masses.

Toward the people, a Party member is not "a high dignitary," "a higher up functionary," but must be their servant, determined to serve the people with heart and soul.

A Party member must be close to the people, listen to their ideas and aspirations, and be the echo for the Party to allow the Party to implement the right policies. In every task, a Party member must know how to get the support of the people, discuss and convince them, instead of having the bullying disdaining attitude of the functionaries. The work of communicating with them and sounding out their ideas goes with that of being their leader and educator: the Party member should avoid the one-way trend of the masses and the negative attitude of "tailing after" the people.

6. Keep on studying to make progress

The mission of the Communist is to struggle to bring about Communism, and to liberate and bring happiness to the people and all humanity. That is a very heavy task. To do it, the Party must keep on studying to make progress.

The Party member should learn Marxism and Leninism, know about the Party's policies, and improve his concepts, ideas and political level. In view of the needs of building the country, a Party member should study literature, technology and economic theories. Learning is done from books and through work. He knows how to practice self-criticism, to correct mistakes and develop good points.

The enemy of learning is the malady of vanity and the feeling of self-sufficiency. A Party member must have modesty and always yearns for learning.

The Lao Dong Party of Vietnam, continuing the tradition of the Communist Party of Indochina, is a grandiose and glorious revolutionary party. Being a member of the Communist Party is a matter of great glory. To merit that honor, it is the duty of each Party member to appraise what should be the standards of a Party member and, with the basis of these standards, always strive for the betterment of ideas.

In the process of the Party's growth, it is necessary for the Party member to keep in mind the principles mentioned above and to make the recipient understand fully the needs of the Party and use the Party's directives to improve himself.

III. GREAT HISTORICAL DATES OF THE PARTY

Thoi Su Pho Thong

Unsigned article

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6 January 1930: Conference aimed at uniting all the Communist forces in Vietnam in a Party called the Communist Party of Vietnam. The conference was held in Hong Kong (China) under the leadership of Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc.

12 September 1930: Soviet Nghe Tinh was set up.

October 1930: The first Central Conference was held in Hong Kong and the name of the Party was changed to the Communist Party of Indochina.

April 1935: First Convention held in Macao (China). The Convention discussed a number of problems, including land division, and minorities.

Beginning of 1936: First General Conference changed the Party's policies in accordance with the general policies of International Communism. This conference was chaired by comrades Le Hong Phong and Ha Huy Tap.

23 September 1940: Bac Son started the rebellion.

23 October 1940: Cochinchina started the rebellion.

19 May 1941: formation of the Front of Allied Independent Vietnam (Viet Minh.)

October 1944: Comrade Ho Chi Minh gave instructions to form the troops of propaganda for the liberation of Vietnam (which is the predecessor of the People's Army of Vietnam.)

11 March 1945: Ba To started the rebellion.

4 June 1945: Formation of the Area of Liberation, including six provinces in the North: Cao Bang, Ha Giang, Lang Son, Bac Can, Tuyen Quang, and Thai Nguyen.

13 August 1945: General Conference held in the Area of Liberation resolved to start a general rebellion, to form a provisional government and to set up the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

16 August 1945: The People's Convention held in Tan Trao (Tuyen-Quang Province) issued the order of general rebellion, outlined internal and foreign policies and set up the Committee for the Liberation of the People (or the Provisional Government).

6 March 1945: The Party took the initiative to sign a preliminary treaty with France according to the policy of "Peace for Moving Ahead."

19 December 1946: The Central Committee of the Party and Ho Chi minh issued the order for general armed resistance to save the country.

11 February 1951: The Second Convention changed the name of the Party to "Lao Dong Party of Vietnam" and proclaimed the slogan "To achieve the liberation of the people, to develop the people's democracy and to advance toward Socialism."

15 July 1954: The Central Conference (6th), enlarged, resolved to take advantage of the past achievements as a basis to struggle for the promotion of peace in Indochina, bring unity, and achieve independence and democracy for the whole country.

IV. THE PARTY AND THE WORKING CLASS

Lao Dong
Pages 3-4

Tran Van Giau

One of the advantages of the working class is that it was conceived and born even before the formation of the bourgeois class. The working class, not only in Vietnam, but in other countries as well, has that advantage. The capitalist regime, being the cause of the emergence of a strong working class, engenders at the same time a weakening bourgeois class. The more the imperialist countries plunder the colonies, the more they have to exploit the workers, and consequently, they have to take over all the business monopolies and concentrate private capital in their hands. Thus, as the economy of the native countries in industry and agriculture is weakened as the consequence of that concentration, the forces of the proletariat are on the ascendancy. Another advantage of the working class in Vietnam is that it gets the sympathy of revolutionary movements in other countries and it is potentially stronger than the revolutionary parties of the bourgeois or small bourgeois classes. For instance, the "Vietnam Thanh Nien Cach Mang Dong Chi Hoi" (Society of Revolutionary Young People of Vietnam) formed in 1925, had much deeper influence and prestige than the "Vietnam Quoc Dan Dang" (Vietnam Nationalist Party) which was formed two years later. The prestige of the latter was limited by the more efficient activities of the Young Peoples Society and the "Tan-Viet" (New Viet Party), and more so, because the activities of the Nationalist Party do not fulfill the aspirations of the People.

Another advantage of the working class in Vietnam is that the movement of strikes launched by the workers' party was increasing in intensity from 1919 to 1929, while the movement of the bourgeois class though it started openly in 1925, collapsed in 1926. The Communist revolutionary movement had been strengthened by the continuous growth of the workers' movement, while the Nationalist movement occurred in the midst of the setback of the bourgeois movement.

After World War I, every true Vietnamese patriot could see clearly that without the support of the working class, it would be difficult to overthrow the imperialist regime to achieve independence, and that Communism is the only means of liberation for the workers, as well as for the people in general. The Holy Soul of the Nation could only reappear to its people when both agricultural and industrial workers are awakened. Besides, a large number of small bourgeois, especially intellectuals belonging to the small bourgeois class, had affinity for the workers' cause.

Looking at the world at large, the rise of the Soviet Union and of the workers' movement is glaringly evident for everyone to see, just as the rising sun casts its rays on earth daily and spreads its beneficial heat on this Vietnamese land to make the workers' class bloom into a powerful political force. Under such a powerful influence, in addition to the spread of Communism in our country, the revolutionary movement of the people in general, and of the working class in particular, was the main cause which led to the formation of the Communist Party in January 1930.

II

When the Communist Party was set up, it proclaimed the nature and purpose of the working class. From the "Summary of General Outlines" and "Political Outlines," two great documents of the Party in 1930, it is noted that:

The Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat, having for its mission the winning of the majority to the ranks of the Party, and to make the proletariat a force to lead the masses in the revolution.

The period of 15 years of struggle from the day of the formation of the Party to the successful August Revolution corresponds to the years of arduous striving to win the majority to the ranks of workers, to educate and enlighten them, and contribute to their strength, thus, enabling them to be the leader of millions of people in the course of the revolution.

The devotion of the Communist Party since 1930 to the working class is not to be forgotten.

The Party is fully aware of the weaknesses of this class, but has a strong belief at the same time in its potentialities.

"The proletariat of Indochina is composed mostly of peasants and handicraftmen. It is not freed yet from prejudiced ideas and old-fashioned feudal customs, and being illiterate, its consciousness as a class is hampered. Even so, while being the victims of ruthless exploitation by a colonial power, the proletariat keeps on increasing its power. Finally, it eliminated every obstacle on its way and stood valiantly to fight against the imperialists. The proletariat thus became the main force of the Indochinese revolution, and the leader of peasants and workers in the revolution." (From "Political Outlines," 1930)

In 1930-31, the Party resolved that the activities of the working class ought to be its central task. Factories, plantations and mines revived a great deal of attention of the Party in the conduct of the struggle to defend the workers' interests.

"All the members of the Communist Party consider the activities of the workers as the core of their task. The most urgent thing to do is to call a general meeting."

"The core of the Party must study thoroughly the obligation of enlarging the composition of the Party, develop the organizational spirit of the workers, and plan carefully their struggle. It is resolved that from now on, the Party should turn its attention to the workers' activities in the struggle. It is only on such conditions that the position of the Party and the proletariat can be strengthened...." (From Resolution of Second Conference of the Second Conference of the Central Committee in 1931)

The Party is wary about the bad influence that the so-called "reformed" bourgeois movement has on the working class and the work for the education of the proletariat, and it wants Marxism and Leninism to be the sharp instrument of the working class.

The Party would be uneasy if even a small number of workers go astray.

"The Party has the task of winning the majority, not only in Red Meetings, but also in other organizations of workers still under the evil influence of reactionaries or "reformed" groups."

The Party has full confidence in the working class, and the working class in turn has confidence and follows the Party. That is the reason why, right at the time the Communist Party was formed, i.e., when the working class became an independent political force, the labor movement was ahead of various movements of peasants, students, small proprietors, and intellectuals. These movements were organized and led by the Communist Party. This means that when the working class became an independent political force, it was at the same time the leader of the Vietnamese Revolution.

The Communist Party emerged from the workers' movement.

Due to the presence of the Party, as well as to its ability and devotion, the workers' movement took definite forms and officially played the role of the most representative party of the people.

The Party devotes a great deal of attention to guarantee and strengthen its role as leader of the working class. When World War II broke out, i.e., when the Party was 10 years old, it had as its mission the task of leading the Vietnamese people out of the war situation only through the successful conduct of the revolution. The party had once more the opportunity to stress its role of leader of the working class.

Resolution 6 on November 1939 said:

"From 1930-31, the people's revolution, led by the proletariat and the Communist Party, attempted the total liberation of the people, without having the character of a narrow-minded nationalism."

Resolution 6 also stressed that without the leadership of the proletariat, the revolution would not be successful. It says:

"In the revolution for the liberation of the people of the nation, the leadership of the proletariat made possible the solution of the problem of agricultural reforms, because the proletariat is the most advanced and most revolutionary class...and once the problem of agrarian reforms has been found, the revolution to overthrow the imperialists and to liberate the nation will be successful."

The Party always carefully directs comrades that they should pay particular attention to the development of the workers' movement, and that the latter should not only go deeper and deeper into the people, but also take the lead and be the guide of other movements as well.

"Avoid discrepancies in various movements for liberation. Make the movement of liberation of the working class the leader of the movements of the peasants and the people as a whole."

The statements mentioned above, together with the devotion of thousands of Communist members working in workers' centers in important cities, along with tens of thousands of other Communist members representing the working class, who work among the peasants and people of various other classes, are evidence of the devotion and attention of the Party for its own class, enlightening and protecting them, working actively for the success of the workers' movement, and strengthening its role as leader.

In response to the call of the Party, the working class in strategic areas became the vanguard leading millions of people in the revolution. It hoisted the flags of the Party and the Nation above mines, plantations, factories, and over public buildings in Vietnam during the most momentous, decisive and glorious days of the August Revolution. These were the brilliant results of the devotion of the Party to its class, and of the faithfulness of the class for the Party. Those are the results of the devotion of the Party and the class to the high interests of the people in general and of the working class in particular.

III

Nine years of armed resistance against the imperialists, and six years of peace devoted to the building of Socialism and fighting for the

unification of the country amount to 15 years of good relations between the Party and its class, although in enemy areas, such as in the South, where various organs of the workers' organizations are misled and exploited by the enemy. This is not the main fact. The main point to stress is that the working class must act in unison with the Party, believe in it and follows the revolutionary slogans of the Party.

In the North, the restoration in the space of three years of an economy utterly destroyed by 15 years of war is evidence that the working class and the working people in general have responded to the call of the Party, and want to be the masters of their destiny.

The success in the management movement in factories and in combined business enterprises, and the liberation of workers are the most important responses of the workers as a whole to the class policy of the Party. In the years to come, with a good record of industrialization, a greater number of workers rallying to the ranks of the Party, with the higher educational level of the workers, and with thousands and tens of thousands of workers becoming Communist Party members, the three components, viz, the Party, the working class and the people will stand together. No storm, however violent, could rend asunder that solid front. The union which cements the three components together is the main reason of our important achievements.

In the South, for the past 6 years, the fact to be mentioned is that, in the fight against the United States-Diem clique, the workers' movement continues to progress, and in the process of its advance, attracts other patriotic and democratic movements to it. The influence of Marxism and Leninism and of the Party is not on the wane, even though the enemy increases its terrorist tactics. On the contrary, the more the U.S.-Diem clique purposely attempts to destroy and distort the real purpose of the revolution and armed resistance, the more they alienate the soul and heart of the people. That fact is the most convincing argument and belief in the success of the unification of the country.

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